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No. 405

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## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

### HONG KONG PAPER COMMENTS ON CHANGES IN CHINESE LEADERSHIP

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 11 Nov 77 p 5 HK

[MING PAO English translation of its 9 November editorial: "National People's Congress in Session Next Spring"]

[Text] Party congress meetings of provincial level are being held or about to be held in various parts of China. The meetings in Hunan and Tibet have just wound up their business and elected new provincial party committees. Following provincial party congress meetings, provincial people's congress meetings will be held towards the end of this year to elect new revolutionary committees of the provinces as part of the preparations for the convocation of the National People's Congress early next year. The National People's Congress is to elect a new standing committee of the NPC and appoint a new State Council. It is expected that the struggle against the "gang of four" will come to an official end when the NPC draws to a close. The nation will then enter a new stage of production and reconstruction. However, followers of the "gang of four" will still have difficult days ahead.

Among the eight officials elected to the new Hunan party committee, Wan Ta and Sun Kuo-che were provincial party secretaries in 1966, and Chang Li-hsien had been a political cadre of divisional-level before the cultural revolution. The remaining five embers had been secretaries of Hsien (county) or district party committees. Of the five, Chao Tzu-chi and Wang Tze-kuo once served as secretaries of the Hsiangtan District Party Committee, both being "junior brothers" to Hua Kuo-feng. The newly elected members are all between 50 and 55, about the same age as Hua Kuo-feng, and joined the Chinese Communist Party during the anti-Japanese war.

New leaders of other provinces have not yet been announced. Among the more active ones in various provinces, many are younger cadres who have been promoted from district party committee members. Among senior cadres in the Party's Central Committee and the State Council, many are of the age group between 50 to 60. These cadres who joined the party during the anti-Japanese war are playing an increasingly important role. The most notable among this group are Politburo members Hua Kuo-feng, Chi Teng-kwei, Chao Tse-yang, Chen Mu-hua and Peng Chung.

The readjustment of organization and the transfer of cadres indicate a process of metabolism in the Communist leadership in China. The "37 cadres" who joined the party during the anti-Japanese war will assume a very important position in 5 or 10 years. This should be viewed as a natural process with the advance of time rather than the result of factional struggles.

Purges within the party are going ahead unabated. Ups and downs in the struggles were reported in several provinces including Szechuan, Honan, Hupei, Kirin and Kiangsi. The group formed by reinstated cadres are continuing the purge of remnant followers of Lin Piao and Chiang Ching, some of whom are members of the 11th Central Committee. The Lin and Chiang cliques had many followers in the army and among senior party and government officials. The purge is likely to continue for some time. The people's daily in an article by its commentator not long ago told cadres "to have deep hatred towards the cliques and factions that had brought havoc to the nation and the people."

Lin Piao has since long been disgraced, but the purge against his followers had not been carried out seriously before the fall of the "gang of four." Lin Piao and Chiang Ching were close collaborators during the cultural revolution. The purge of Lin should have been directed at Chiang Ching as well, but it was not for obvious reasons. Obstruction to the purge has now been removed and the day of reckoning for the two has finally arrived.

CSO: 4005

"GANG OF FOUR'S" FALLACY ON CLASS RELATIONS CRITICIZED

Peking JEN-MIN JIH-PAO in Chinese 27 Oct 77 p 2 HK

[NCNA Report: "Severely Criticize the 'Gang of Four's' Fallacy on 'New Changes in Class Relations'"]

[Summary] "More than 1,400 advanced producers, advanced workers, old heroes, old labor models and representatives of advanced collectives attending the Taiyuan Municipal Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry have, in light of the reality of the struggle between the two classes, and the two lines in Shansi Province and Taiyuan Municipality, angrily criticized the counterrevolutionary political program of the 'gang of four,' set right the relationship between the enemies and ourselves turned upside down by them, 'united with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies' and advanced courageously toward the great goal of four modernizations."

When our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou passed away in February 1976, the "gang of four" pounced on the party and the people. They cast forth the counterrevolutionary political program claiming that "old cadres are 'democrats' and 'democrats' are 'capitalist-roaders'." Chang Tieh-sheng, the new counterrevolutionary raised by the "gang of four," went to Shensi and uttered drivel in Hsiyang County and Taiyuan Municipality, wantonly distorting the basic line of the party throughout the historical period of socialism. He advertised the reactionary fallacy of "new changes in class relations" and nonsensically said that "over 70 percent of the old cadres are guilty of mistakes of the revisionist line," and "there have appeared among them many capitalist-roaders, sinister gangsters, bourgeois elements and capitulationists." The clamors made by this counterrevolutionary were resolutely rebuffed by the Shansi Provincial CCP Committee, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Hsiyang and the people of the whole province. The provincial party committee decided not to transmit the speech of Chang Tieh-sheng and not to release his recorded broadcast, but to lock them up and report the matter to the Central Committee.

"Looking back on this alarming struggle, the delegates attending the Taiyuan Municipal Conference on Learning From Taching in Industry saw more clearly the malice hidden in this counterrevolutionary political program of the 'gang of four,' and more profoundly comprehended the far-reaching significance of

the call that 'we must carry the great struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' through to the end' sounded by Chairman Hua at the 11th Party Congress. The delegates used a huge number of facts to repudiate point by point the counterrevolutionary fallacies spread by the 'gang of four.' They point out:

I. "The allegation made by the 'gang of four' that over 70 percent of the old cadres were 'democrats' and 'present targets of the revolution' is a malicious distortion, and shameless slander of our party history, and an out-and-out ultra-right fallacy opposing communism, the people and the revolution." Based on this reactionary theory, the henchmen of the "gang of four" in Shansi Province and Taiyan Municipality cried: "All cadres over 50 are democrats"; "All those who earn more than 100 yuan are capitalist-roaders"; "Those who worked as cadres before the great cultural revolution are restorationists"; "Those who implemented policies and arranged work in 1975 belong to the verdict-reversing faction." They called for grasping capitalist roaders from among those with the halos of old cadres, old revolutionaries, old heroes and old labor models around their heads.

II. "The 'gang of four' and their henchmen vilified the old cadres, who devoted their whole lives to socialist revolution and socialist construction, as capitalist-roaders 'immersed in economic construction, in grain production and in intellectual education,' and 'imbeciles' who 'cared only about grain, cotton and oil but paid no attention to distinguishing enemies from friends'. This was not only a deliberate slander of the broad masses of old cadres, but also a sinister conspiracy to topple China's socialist economy and disintegrate the material base of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

III. "The 'gang of four' and their henchmen uttered nonsense, saying that 'people holding power will turn revisionist, and the oppressed are most revolutionary, and that directing the spearhead at the higher level is always justified.' This was how they openly instigated the target of the dictatorship of the proletariat to rebel against the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to seize power from the proletariat in a vain attempt to bring about a rightist epoch-making change."

IV. "The 'gang of four' and their henchmen frenziedly clamored that they must adopt the 'iron fist' toward the revolutionary old cadres, 'carry out a major surgical operation' on the leading body at various levels, and eliminate so-called 'muddled ideas' in 'ideology, theory and line'. Everybody pointed out that in the past few years, under the influence of the counterrevolutionary public opinion of the 'gang of four', the thinking of the people had been confused and the line of distinction between right and wrong upside down. We can never underestimate their pernicious poison and influence."

"A year has elapsed since the smashing of the 'gang of four', but why is the struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' developing so slowly in some localities? Why is the bourgeois factional network in some localities still not destroyed? Why is it that the fine tradition and work style of the party cannot be quickly restored? Why is it that even now management work in some enterprises has not improved, and labor discipline is slack and production cannot rise? The fundamental problem is that the struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' has not been properly grasped, the ultra-right counterrevolutionary revisionist line of the 'gang of four' has not been thoroughly exposed and criticized, and its pernicious influence has not been eliminated. In response to the great call of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee, we must concentrate our forces to fight a people's war to eliminate the pernicious influence of the 'gang of four', criticize their counterrevolutionary political program, and eliminate the poison and influence of their revisionist line in the fields of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. We must keep on raising our consciousness to the Marxist-Leninist level and implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the struggle, and fight with unflagging effort for the realization of the line of the 11th Party Congress."

CSO: 4005

COMPLETE ERADICATION OF EVIL OF "GANG OF FOUR" URGED

Peking JEN-MIN JIH-PAO in Chinese 2 Nov 77 p 1 HK

[Short commentary: "The Evil Must Be Completely Eradicated"]

[Summary] The Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry has achieved initial success in grasping the key link in running the country well. The bourgeois factional network of the confidants of the "gang of four" in the Ministry of the Metallurgical industry has been destroyed and the production of steel, which had been interferred with and sabotaged by the "gang of four" and which had been stagnating and even declining, is now increasing. This is a great victory won by the masses of staff and workers on the metallurgical front in determinedly responding to the call of wise leader Chairman Hua to grasp the key link in exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four'."

"The 'gang of four' were a most evil counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique. Our struggle against them is a continuation of the protracted struggle waged by the masses of revolutionary people under the leadership of the communist party against the Kuomintang reactionaries. We can never show the slightest mercy toward these new and old counterrevolutionaries who are evil and baneful. Experience shows that exposure and criticism of the bourgeois factional network of the 'gang of four' and their remnant followers is impossible without the determination to completely eradicate this evil."

"The determination to completely eradicate this evil is necessary for winning complete victory in the political revolution to expose and criticize the 'gang of four.' The 'gang of four' extended their sinister tentacles into many localities and units throughout the country. They arranged posts for their confidants in these localities and units. They recruited followers and created a complicated bourgeois factional network. For a long time, the 'gang' had taken the place of the party in these localities and units, and falsehood was looked upon as truth, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line could not be implemented, stability and unity could not be realized and production could not be increased. If we do not completely destroy the bourgeois factional network of the 'gang of four' and their remnant followers, the class alignment cannot be correctly distinguished, the question of right and wrong

in line cannot be correctly oriented, and the initiative of the masses of cadres and people cannot be brought into full play. What is even more serious is that if we cannot completely eradicate the evil, the backbone factional elements who participated in the 'gang of four's' counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities to usurp party and state power will be able to change their tactics and create an "earthquake" beneath our feet. The 'gang of four' lost the confidence of the people, and it is impossible for them to make a comeback. However, if we do not completely destroy their bourgeois factional network, then it is not impossible for them to resurrect themselves in a new guise and with a new look in some units. We can never be negligent in this regard."

"The party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua calls for achieving initial success in grasping the key link in running the country before the end of this year. There are only 2 months left. Investigation work should be completed by stages and in groups before the end of the year or shortly afterwards."

CSO: 4005

## "GANG OF FOUR'S" CONSPIRACY IN LITERATURE, ART REVIEWED

Peking KUANG-MING JIH-PAO in Chinese 8 Oct 77 p 2

[Article by Liu Tsai-fu [0491 0375 5958] and Yang Chih-chieh [2799 1807 2638]: "The Ins and Outs of the Conspiratorial Literature and Art of the 'Gang of Four'"]

[Text] In the later stages of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our Party was locked in a life-and-death struggle with the "gang of four," a struggle between two classes and two lines. With a fanatical vengeance, the "gang of four" put up a desperate fight against the proletariat by resorting to all kinds of maneuvers, including the use of conspiratorial literature and art of the most sinister and anti-Party nature.

The "gang of four's" conspiratorial literature and art attacked and defamed the Party's leading cadres in a most unbridled way, closely linked up with the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary steps to usurp the Party and seize power. The emergence, growth and extinction of this kind of literature and art were an ugly history serving as a typical example in mirroring the extremely ferocious and teacherous tricks and reactionary features of the "gang of four" who were a batch of bourgeois careerists and conspirators. This history also recorded the entire course in which this counterrevolutionary sinister gang launched frenzied attacks against our Party, pressed us step after step, made a last desperate effort in an open onslaught, and eventually was punished by the Party and the people.

### Fanning Up the Counterrevolutionary Sinister Wind

In order to alter the Party's correct line and hit at leading cadres at various levels in our Party, the "gang of four" who had originally been in league with the Lin Piao company, had, since the Party's Tenth National Congress cooked up anti-Party literary works such as "Spring Sprouts" "portraying the struggle against capitalist roaders." However, it was in the eventful spring of 1976 that they fanned up in a programmed and planned way the counterrevolutionary sinister wind of "portraying the struggle against capitalist roaders."

The first to raise the slogan of "portraying capitalist roaders" were Chiang Ch'ing and Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, the two arch conspirators. Two days before Chang Ch'un-ch'iao wrote the infamous poem "Thoughts on February 3," namely, on February 1, 1976, Chiang Ch'ing, called her confidents Yu Hui-yung and others whom she had planted in the Ministry of Culture for a secret meeting. Chiang said to them: "Right now plays staged by the model performing troupes are all out-of-date. They seldom deal with topics of the socialist period and none of them has a content of struggling against capitalist roaders." "You must quickly assign the various performing troupes to adapt the films "Split," "Spring Sprouts," "The Second Spring" and "Fight at the Building Berth" into Peking operas." Finally she disclosed to them her cards, saying: "I have talked with Ch'un-ch'iao. These are all films portraying the struggle against capitalist roaders and can fit in with the current struggle." The so-called "fitting in with the current struggle" was but to fit in with the "gang of four's" conspiracy of stepping up their efforts to usurp the Party and seize power.

The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao had long been aware of the "gang of four's" conspiracy to usurp the Party and seize power and had waged a tit-for-tat struggle against them. After the demise of Premier Chou, Chairman Mao personally made the proposal, which was also approved by the Central Committee Politburo, to appoint Comrade Hua Kuo-feng acting premier of the State Council in charge of work at the Center. This wise decision of Chairman Mao struck a powerful blow against the "gang of four's" conspiracy to usurp the Party and seize power. Refusing to take their defeat lying down, the "gang of four" launched a frenzied counterattack, openly dishing up the counterrevolutionary political program that "all old cadres are democrats, and democrats are but capitalist roaders" in a vain attempt to usurp the top authority of the Party and state. To achieve this purpose, various kinds of mass media under the control of the "gang of four" began attacking on all fronts to wantonly create counterrevolutionary public opinion. The conspiratorial literature of "portraying capitalist roaders" was a natural product of the counterrevolutionary, political program set forth by the "gang of four," and was closely coordinated with the counterrevolutionary arrangements which the "gang of four" had made in their attack against the Party.

According to the counterrevolutionary, political program of the "gang of four," the major targets of their attack were the so-called "democrats in the past and capitalist roaders today." Flagrantly they spread the notion that "at present the targets of revolution are those democrats who had eaten bran in the old society, been wounded during the Anti-Japanese War, fought in the Liberation War and crossed the Ya-lu River during the struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea." Those who had to be knocked out now were "capitalist roaders who had climbed the snowcapped mountains and crossed the grasslands." In accordance with the demands set forth in this counterrevolutionary, political program of the "gang of four," Chang Ch'un-ch'iao held on February 6 another secret

talk with Yu Hui-yung and raised the theoretical issue of how to "depict capitalist roaders" so that the sinister program of "portraying capitalist roaders" in literature could be more closely geared to their sinister and counterrevolutionary, political program.

The question Chang Ch'un-ch'iao raised was about the depth in literary works "portraying capitalist roaders." Said he: "Right now there is much need to assign literature and art circles to write in-depth plays depicting the struggle against capitalist roaders. This can be regarded as a need stemming from the current struggle and also the central theme in the entire socialist period." And he added: "At present works which genuinely deal with such themes are very rare. Probably "Spring Sprouts" is the first one of this kind, isn't it? But it only depicts a commune medical center. There is not much breadth in what it epitomizes nor much depth in terms of ideology. They should write about an area, a municipality, a province, or even a ministry, and that will play a much greater role." The "depth" which Chang Ch'un-ch'iao referred to comprised two important aspects: First, they should write about the so-called "capitalist roaders" of even higher ranks. When implementing Chang's sinister instruction, Yu Hui-yung had this to say: "There is more depth if capitalist roaders of higher job ranks are depicted." In order to make clear his intention, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao cited an example: "The Shanghai 'Feng-ch'ing Ship Incident' is a subject worthy of depicting. It is a typical case in the struggle against the capitalist roaders." To make a typical example of the case was for the purpose of hitting at leading cadre at the central level. Second, they should portray the essentials and characteristics of the so-called "capitalist roaders." Said Chang Ch'un-ch'iao: "In portraying the capitalist roaders it is necessary to depict the characteristics of their stubbornness and deceitfulness." In compliance with Chang's instruction, Yu Hui-yung set up in the Ministry of Culture a "theoretical studies group" to make a special study on the issue, delving into this kind of "essentials and characteristics." In a parrot-cry, Yu said to the functionaries concerned: "The most important question regarding works portraying the capitalist roaders is, after all, how to grasp the essentials and characteristics embodying the law and salient features of current struggle." He stressed the need to depict the "stubbornness," "reactionary character," "perilousness," and "deceitfulness" of the capitalist roaders.

What does it refer to when the above qualities are to be made concrete and applied to the practice of creation? A remnant member of the "gang of four" in Shanghai has become a rather "incisive" epitome of this. He said: This means that we must portray the kind of capitalist roaders "who are diligently engaged in grasping production," "who have no defects in terms of personal character and are capitalist roaders with a clean slate," "who joined the revolution early and did not betray the Party, who are capitalist roaders with an invulnerable background." However, it was not allowed to portray "capitalist roaders who are corrupt and degenerate, indulging in eating and drinking," and "capitalist roaders who are not only renegades

and secret agents but also take to the capitalist road." They (the "gang of four") argued that these two kinds of capitalist roaders were void of the "significance of type," that is, they did not conform to the "essentials and characteristics" of those who took to the capitalist road. In the eyes of this batch of counterrevolutionary, sinister gangsters, the diligence displayed by our Party's cadres, their quiet hard work, wholehearted devotion to public duty, as well as the meritorious service they rendered to the revolution were exactly the "deceitfulness" and "perilousness" they posed, their adherence to the Party's excellent tradition and work style was nothing but their "stubbornness," and their persistence in following the socialist road and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was precisely their "reactionary character." Only when all these "qualities" were portrayed in accordance with the "gang of four's" stand and point of view, and thus "exposed" and "criticized," were the works regarded as having depicted the "essentials and characteristics" and having "depth." This fully proves that the so-called "depth" of theirs was an attempt to attack and defame through literary works those fine cadres of our Party and army in accordance with the requirement of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary, political program. What they wanted to do was exactly to have our Party and army totally destroyed. They launched a vindictive counterattack not only against socialist revolution but also against democratic revolution. It is right through this kind of conspiratorial literature and art that the "gang of four" spoke aloud the minds of the overthrown landlord and bourgeoisie classes who yearn for vengeance and resurrection.

Guided by Chang Ch'un-ch'iao's theory of "depth in literature and art," there appeared a batch of anti-Party, conspiratorial literary works having extremely wicked and sinister contents. The Joyous Little Liang River, for instance, even concocts a deputy chief Hsia, a character who is supposedly equipped with the "essentials and characteristics of the capitalist roader." In light of the tone set by the remnant member of the "gang of four," this deputy chief Hsia "had a family background of hired farm hands for three generations," "joined the army in 1938 and fought with the Japanese soldiers in bayonet charges. He participated in the three big battles of Liao-shen, Peking-Tientsin and Huaihai. He shed blood when fighting Chiang Kai-shek and dripped with sweat when carrying land reform." "None of his friends and relatives are capitalists. As for himself, he does not embezzle money or corrupt, nor has he ever had a drink or a bite at a landlord's house..." Diligently and conscientiously, he devotes himself to work; nevertheless, he, as luck would have it, "knows nothing about socialist revolution," and his clean slate is but his "deceitfulness." Therefore there is all the more reason to have him overthrown. No wonder the remnant member of the "gang of four" maliciously lectured comrades who held different opinions: "We just want to create capitalist roaders of this type. They have good family backgrounds and have rendered meritorious service to the revolution. On the surface they do not corrupt and are not degenerate, but politically they are reactionary. Only thus can we achieve depth and the significance of type." Not long after the "gang of four" set forth the sinister program

of "portraying capitalist roaders" in literature and art and during the period when The Joyous Little Liang River was in the process of being cooked up, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao personally wrote a letter to assign authors and subject matter, demanding that "works of even greater depth" be produced. The big poisonous weed The Judgment of History, which has not yet come out into the open, is exactly the product of this sinister letter by Chang Ch'un-ch'iao. This "masterpiece" of "portraying capitalist roaders" cooked up in keeping with Chang's idea about "depth in literature" has as its protagonist an old cadre who had joined the revolution when she was only 15 years of age. In the past she risked her life for the revolution, today she still "works diligently" and keeps close ties with the masses, maintaining the work style of the war time. However, such a concoction in the story is only for the purpose of illustrating her "deceitfulness." The more important the capitalist roader, the more reason to have him or her knocked out. Consequently, the story allows its "hero" to point out its theme by uttering the nonsense: those who have "brought landlords and capitalists to the bar of justice," if they "move against the trend of history," they will be "ruthlessly judged by history like all other reactionaries." This is the most typical example of "depth" as defined by the "gang of four." It means the entire historical mission of the "gang of four" and their conspiratorial literature and art was to put China's proletariat and its vanguard the Chinese Communist Party, who had formerly passed judgment on the landlords and capitalists, into a historical position of being judged. This is nothing short of a reversal of heaven and earth by turning the proletarian dictatorship into bourgeois dictatorship. What insanity! What an out-and-out restoration! Isn't this kind of literature and art completely restoration oriented, the kind of reactionary literature and art of the landlords and capitalists? Aren't they the through-and-through literature and art of the "home-going legions?" Can the Chinese people pardon such a ferocious arch enemy who even dared to "try" our Party?

#### Moving Toward the Climax of Insanity

As class struggle was intensifying, the conspiratorial literature and art of the "gang of four" also became more and more fierce in nature.

On 7 April 1976, Chairman Mao personally made the proposal, which was approved by the Central Committee Politburo, to appoint Comrade Hua Kuo-feng first vice chairman of the Central Committee and premier of the State Council. This was another heavy blow dealt against the "gang of four's" conspiracy to usurp the Party and seize power. Not long after, Chairman Mao's illness took a turn for the worse. At this juncture, the "gang of four" calculated that they had arrived at an opportune time and frantically pushed to a new climax their conspiratorial efforts to usurp the top leadership of the Party and state. As the political conspiracy of the "gang of four" moved forward, the conspiratorial literature and art also

dove to a new "depth." This new "depth" was manifested most sharply in the following two aspects:

1. The "capitalist roaders" they desired to portray were "capitalist roaders" of even higher ranks and whose faults were beyond remedy. Such "capitalist roaders," upwardly, were in direct contact with the Party Center, and downwardly, were "in league with" the "counterrevolutionary organizations" in society. They used the Center as their behind-the-scenes boss, while they themselves served as the "sinister behind-the-scenes bosses" for all the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements in society.
2. Shamelessly these works overtly chanted the praises of the "gang of four" themselves and their major confidants, and glorified their life and virtues so as to prepare for them "political assets" in their efforts to take over the country belonging to the proletariat.

During this period, representative works of the conspiratorial literature and art like Counterattack and A Gala Festival all strongly displayed these two features.

In the process of creation, the official post held by the negative protagonist Han Ling in Counterattack was raised step by step in accordance with the "gang of four's" political needs in that period. At first they planned to write Han Ling as secretary of a university Party committee. Later his role was changed to that of head of the Bureau of Education and secretary in charge of culture and education in a provincial Party committee. Finally it was decided to portray Han as the "first secretary of a provincial Party committee who refuses to mend his ways." Through the lips of this first secretary, the film refers to the "Center" with an ulterior motive to attack and slander the leading comrades in the Center. The "Four Modernizations" were put forward by Chairman Mao and made public by Premier Chou at the Fourth National People's Congress. However, the film uses the "Four Modernizations" as the code name for a "counter-revolutionary organization," deliberately directing its spearhead Premier Chou. With premeditation, the film describes the first secretary as having become the behind-the-scenes boss for a "counterrevolutionary organization" and having ganged together with counterrevolutionaries to engineer counter-revolutionary incidents. This is a most vicious plot designed to completely turn upside down the role of the major leading cadres from our Party's Center down to localities, depicting them as counterrevolutionaries who were totally opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus the ferocious "gang of four" could find a good excuse to suppress the old generation of proletarian revolutionaries and major leading cadres at various levels. Ch'ih Ch'un, one of the sinister lieutenants of the "gang of four" said with his teeth gnashing: "We should arrest a few such people and execute them. It is a pity China does not have such a law yet." The deliberate portrayal by the "gang of four's" conspiratorial literature and art of the so-called "capitalist roaders" ganging up with

counterrevolutionary organizations was utilizing literature to create a theoretical basis for enforcing a fascist law when the "gang of four" took power, a theoretical basis for bringing down the entire set of cadres in our Party and army. In their wishful thinking, they calculated that when the right moment came and they were able to project these anti-Party films on the screen, they would stage a bloody massacre and frenzied repression against the cadres of our Party, plunging the fine sons and daughters of our Party into a bloodbath.

The "major heroic characters" in the conspiratorial literature and art at this time also greatly escalated. They were no longer such people as barefoot doctors, women leaders of production teams or deputy chiefs figures in "Spring Sprouts" or The Joyous Little Liang River. The "heroes" then were bourgeois careerists such as the "gang of four" themselves and their major confidants. In Counterattack both Chiang Ch'ing and Ch'ih Ch'un were praised as the most lofty "heroes." And in A Gala Festival Wang Hung-wen was portrayed as a "lofty and consummate leader" of the working class, while Chang Ch'un-ch'iao was glorified as its "saviour." Precisely because this batch was prepared to immediately stage a coup in a conspiracy to usurp the top power of the Party and state, they brooked no delay in trying to present themselves on the screen as "protagonists" and "heroes" beforehand.

In this way the "gang of four's" conspiratorial literature and art came to their anti-Party, anti-people and counterrevolutionary zenith, and became the undisguised political declaration of the "gang of four" for an all round seizure of the Party and power.

#### The Short-Lived Conspiratorial Literature and Art

Things turn into their opposites when reaching their extremes. In conjunction with the "gang of four's" activities to usurp the Party and seize power, the conspiratorial literature and art of the "gang of four" also reached its climax. At a time when the "gang of four" wanted to bombard the proletariat with works of conspiratorial literature and art as heavy bombs one after another, the proletariat had no choice but to sweep away this handful of pests and tolled their death knell.

From the start of concocting the short-lived conspiratorial literature and art to their complete collapse was a history in which we see the hatred that this batch of sinister counterrevolutionaries of the "gang of four" harbored against the Chinese Communist Party and to what a frenzied extent it developed. We see how step by step they implemented their counterrevolutionary program in an increasingly brutal effort to cope with our Party and destroy the elite of our Party. The entire history of the conspiratorial literature and art tells us that this counterrevolutionary clique which Chairman Mao had described as the "gang of four" was the most ferocious enemy of our Party, our army and our people.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Making use of novels for anti-Party activities is a big invention." Revisionist chieftains like Kao Kang, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao all used literature and art for activities in anti-Party conspiracies. However, the "gang of four" step by step placed the entire literature and art work under their control in a well-programmed, well-planned, and well-organized way, reducing them to literature and art monopolized by their gang and also tools to be used for their anti-Party conspiracy. Such an evolution has no precedent in the history of our Party and in the history of our country's cultural development. It is unprecedented in terms of their width of scope, the violence of their onslaught, the venomousness in the stratagems they resorted to as well as the meanness of their objective.

As the "gang of four" frantically cooked up conspiratorial literature and art and pressed on with the counterrevolutionary revisionist line, an unheard of strange phenomenon surfaced in literature and art circles. The entire department of literature and art, including the various forms of movies, dramas, novels, prose, poetry, serial pictorial story, even children's literature, was only allowed to write about one subject: "the struggle against the capitalist roader;" to depict one kind of "hero," that is, bourgeois careerists who struggle against the so-called "capitalist roaders;" to portray one type of circumstance, namely, the layer after layer of rule under the capitalist roaders' "sinister line." Literature and art were only allowed to travel along one path--the blind alley of creation geared to the service of the "gang of four's" conspiracy to usurp the Party and seize power. Its objective was to turn our Party into a revisionist party, to change the color of our state and alter the nature of our literature and art. The extreme serious nature of the conspiratorial literature and art warrants our attention. There is no construction without destruction, no flow without damming and no motion without rest. In the political arena we have uprooted the batch of bourgeois careerists and conspirators of the "gang of four." Likewise, in the field of literature and art we should also resolutely smash this kind of reactionary literature and art which has injured the country and brought calamity to the people. We must be firm in liquidating all their pernicious influence so as to enable the socialist literature and art in our country to radiate with an even more youthful brilliance.

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## CRITICISM OF BOURGEOIS RIGHTS BY "GANG OF FOUR" EXAMINED

Peking LI-SHIH YEN-CHIU (Historical Research) in Chinese No 4 20 Aug 77  
pp 24-36 HK

[Article by Wu Ching-lien and Chou Shu-lien: "A Historical Examination of the Theories of Bourgeois Rights"]

[Excerpts] In order to usurp party and state power and restore capitalism, the "gang of four" made it their purpose to mystify Marxist theory and to confuse the people's thinking. The problem of "bourgeois rights" under the socialist system is one about which they have created great confusion.

The "gang of four" often styled themselves experts in "abolishing bourgeois rights," posing as the most devoted critics of bourgeois rights. Was their "criticism" of bourgeois rights made from a proletarian standpoint, from the high level of communism? Absolutely not. They took over the mantle of feudal socialism in a vain attempt to replace bourgeois rights with feudal rights. On the one hand, they "criticized" bourgeois rights and, on the other, vigorously advocated the legalism of our feudal society, styling themselves "modern legalists." What is the legalist "law?" It is common knowledge that this is nothing but the rights system or concept of feudal despotism. The "gang of four" lauded such a rights system or concept to the skies, using such superlatives as "progressive," "advantageous to the people," "giving peasants the power to take care of themselves," etc. They also claimed that "legalists love the people," and that those states following the legalist policy "provide the people with relief supplies" and "are mindful of the hardships of the people," and "the people look up to those above." Out of gratitude to feudal emperors, what a beautiful picture they drew of a fairyland "free from such defects as bourgeois rights." The "gang of four" not only had supreme respect for the bourgeois rights of the landlord class, but energetically sought their revival in the China of today. They vigorously promoted the gradation system and privileges, in a vain attempt to turn the emancipated laboring masses into their slaves.

A study of historical literature on bourgeois rights enables us to see more clearly what the social essence is of the "socialism" promoted by the "gang of four." They shouted the slogan of "abolition of bourgeois rights" with a cry that resounded to the skies. In fact, what they wanted to "abolish"

were such rights as "labor equality" and "distribution equality" paid for by the working class' blood over a long period. For their part, they wanted to extend bourgeois rights to the area of ownership of the means of production, in a vain attempt to swallow the state economy and the collective economy of the people's commune which have already become the common property of the laboring people. If their plot to usurp party and state power had succeeded, they would have turned our socialist system of public ownership into the state monopoly capitalist system of ownership of the "gang of four's" version of a fascist state. Besides, the "gang of four" were not satisfied with just the general restoration of bourgeois rights. They wanted to create a certain kind of "communism" under the reign of "an empress" so that they could lord it over the 800 million people of the whole country and do as they please. Therefore, if it can be called socialism, theirs is a socialism of the feudal emperor kind.

The debate on the problem of bourgeois rights has continued since the early days of contemporary history. Since the victory of the October Revolution and the founding of the first socialist state, a heated debate has revolved around how to treat the problem of bourgeois rights under the socialist system. This is nothing strange, because different classes have different theories of rights. As far as this problem is concerned, the "gang of four" played a most disgraceful role. Running entirely counter to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, they picked up the shopworn bourgeois and feudal theories on rights to rabidly attack the socialist system. They did this to promote their counterrevolutionary revisionist line, which could not have been more to the right, to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Therefore, we must penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," thoroughly smash their counterrevolutionary revisionist line, clarify the confusion they created in regard to bourgeois rights and safeguard Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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PRC SPORTS COMMISSION HOLDS MEETING TO CRITICIZE GANG

Peking TIYU PAO (Physical Culture) in Chinese 21 Oct 77 p 1 HK

[Report by Tiyu Pao correspondent: "The State Physical Culture and Sports Commission Calls a General Meeting to Expose and Criticize the "gang of four" antiparty clique and their remnant followers"]

[Summary] On the afternoon of 19 October, the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission called a general meeting in Peking to expose and criticize the crimes of the "gang of four" antiparty clique and their remnant followers in the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission. Attending the meeting were responsible comrades of the state physical culture and sports commission and of departments concerned and the cadres and the masses of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission. Representatives of the Peking Municipal Physical Culture and Sports Committee System and the Physical Culture and Sports units of the PLA in Peking also participated. Over 10,000 persons attended.

Facts and concrete evidence cited at the meeting further exposed the counter-revolutionary crimes and reactionary features of the ringleader and backbone members of the bourgeois factional network formed by the remnant followers of the "gang of four" in the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission and marked the total collapse of this reactionary factional network. "The ringleader of this bourgeois factional network was a remnant follower of the "gang of four" directly linked with the gang in seizing party and state power in the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission. The No 2 man was a so-called old cadre who had political ambitions and attached himself to the "gang of four." On the instructions of the "gang of four," he promoted another set of rules in the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission and played a decisive role in conducting criminal activities to usurp party and state power. Another ringleader was the "returning mountain tigress" who was directly linked with the "gang of four." She was the most capable accomplice among the gang's remnant followers and their vanguard in negating everything, overthrowing everything and pushing a counterrevolutionary revisionist line. They recruited a group of confidants to form a backbone force to act in collusion. It was

under the direct command of the "gang of four" and ganged up with the sworn followers and remnant followers of the gang. In the 11th line struggle within the party, they practiced revisionism and splitism, engaged in intrigues and conspiracies and conducted various criminal activities in usurping party and state power."

After comrades made speeches criticizing the remnant followers of the "gang of four" and their bourgeois factional network in the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission, the principal responsible comrade of the commission made a speech. He said, "We have achieved much in our struggle, but we should be sober enough to see that the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission is one of the units seriously jeopardized by the deeply entrenched "gang of four" and is a 'seriously affected disaster zone.' The bourgeois factional network in the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission has not been thoroughly, wholly and completely destroyed, the task of investigation has not been completed, and the job of eliminating the remnant poison of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line is most formidable. Our combat task is still very heavy and in no way can we slacken our fighting spirit or give up halfway. We must resolutely implement the instructions of Chairman Hua and the Party Central Committee, carry forward the spirit of pursuing the tottering foe with power and to spare, launch a new and more fierce attack against the "gang of four" and their bourgeois factional network in the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission, whip up a new upsurge in the movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and strive to win complete victory in this great struggle."

The responsible comrade said in conclusion that "under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by wise leader Chairman Hua, our physical culture front must resolutely implement the line of the 11th National CCP Congress, hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, resolutely adhere to the party's basic line, grasp the key link in running the country well, continue the revolution, vow to carry through to the end the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," seize the hour, go all out to make rapid headway, promote our socialist physical culture cause as fast as possible and fight hard to build a modern and powerful socialist country."

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## PEKING SPORTS PAPER CALLS FOR CONTINUED STRUGGLE

Peking TIYU PAO (PHYSICAL CULTURE) in Chinese 21 Oct 77 p 1 HK

[Article by Li Ping: "In the Manner of Hitting Foreign Devils and Chiang Kai-shek"]

[Summary] The major victory won by the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" is a heart-stirring event on the physical culture front.

But the "gang of four's" remnant followers, lieutenants and flunkies will not docilely lay down their arms and surrender for some time to come. "We must fight a long battle to thoroughly eliminate their remnant poison in regard to line, theory and ideology."

The struggle has educated us. "To be kind to the enemy is to be cruel to the people. If we don't fight resolutely, there will be no end of trouble." Termites which wormed their way into the revolutionary camp, the "gang of four" rabidly sabotaged socialist revolution and construction in all fields. "If we don't completely eliminate these pests, there will be a great retrogression in the history of China, capitalism will be restored and the revolutionary people will suffer."

In the manner of hitting foreign devils and Chiang Kai-shek in former years, we must continue our fierce attack against the bourgeois factional network of the "gang of four" and their remnant followers and "smash it to smithereens."

In the manner of hitting foreign devils and Chiang Kai-shek in former years and with deep class hatred, we must expose, criticize and denounce their towering crimes in usurping party and state power, uncover the persons and events connected with the "gang of four's" conspiratorial activities and shatter their ultrarightist counterrevolutionary revisionist line.

In the manner of hitting foreign devils and Chiang Kai-shek in former years, we must have the determination and courage to fight to the end. "We must not only thoroughly smash them organizationally, but must also penetratingly and completely criticize and discredit them in regard to line, theory and ideology, clean up the mess they left behind and fight the third battle well."

'NANFANG DAILY' ON CRITICIZING THE "GANG OF FOUR"

Canton Kwangtung Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 31 Oct 77 HK

[NANFANG DAILY Editorial: "Continue the Triumphant Advance, Do a Good Job of Fighting the Third Round of the Battle of Exposing and Criticizing the 'gang of four', " date not given]

[Summary] We must immediately take action and whip up a new upsurge throughout the province in energetically exposing and criticizing the "gang of four."

"We have won great victories in the struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four.' In the past year, in accordance with the plan of the party Central Committee and in connection with the reality of our province, we have launched a great mass movement to expose and criticize the 'gang of four.' We have fought two battles, namely, the battle to expose and criticize the 'gang's' plot to usurp party and state power, and the battle to expose and criticize the 'gang's' counterrevolutionary criminal history. In fighting these two battles, we also investigated every person and matter connected with the 'gang's' plot to usurp party and state power. Thus we have consolidated and developed the victorious fruits of smashing the 'gang of four' in the fields of politics, ideology, and organization."

"The third round of the battle of exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four' is aimed at defending Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This battle is an important battle which is aimed at exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four' in the fields of line, ideology and theory, and thoroughly eradicating their pernicious influence."

"The 'gang of four' fanatically opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, spread rumors and attacked the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and directed their spearhead against our great leader Chairman Mao, our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and other leading comrades of the central authorities. They smeared and made false accusations against Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping and went in for revisionism, splittism, schemes and intrigues in a big way. We have criticized the 'gang's' crimes mentioned above. However, the criticism is not systematized enough, nor is

it penetrating enough. In particular, we have not done a good job of exposing and criticizing the 'gang's' crimes in connection with the reality of one's own front and unit. We have not done a good job of conscientiously distinguishing between right and wrong in line and of restoring order."

"The 'gang of four's' interference and sabotage on the agricultural front, and especially the 'gang's' crimes in adopting various methods to disrupt the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, and disrupt the party's various policies in the rural areas have not yet been thoroughly examined and repudiated. Therefore, the pernicious influence of the 'gang's' fallacies is far from being eradicated. During the third round of the battle of exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four,' we must act in accordance with the spirit of the party Central Committee's directive, emphatically expose and criticize the 'gang's' counterrevolutionary political program, and thoroughly expose their counterrevolutionary vicious intention and their hazard to our country's revolution and construction. In connection with the reality of every area and unit, we must correct, one after another, the right and wrong in line, ideology and theory which was turned upside down by the 'gang of four.'"

"We must continue to firmly grasp the investigation work and thoroughly investigate every person and matter connected with the 'gang of four's' plot to usurp party and state power. We must smash the 'gang of four's' and their remnants' bourgeois factionalist network, and smash the bourgeois factionalist activities of the 'gang's' handful of close followers, black ace generals and black accomplices in our province. These are the important contents of the third round of the battle of exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four.' The investigation work concerns the purity of our party and our revolutionary ranks, and concerns the consolidation of the victorious fruits of the 11th line struggle. We have won great success in the investigation work. However, this task is still very arduous. If we do not carry the investigation through to the end, we cannot thoroughly smash the 'gang's' and their remnants' factionalist network, and a latent danger will continue to exist. Whenever they see the chance, they will create earthquakes again. Thus we must firmly grasp the investigation work, carry out the work in a careful and deep-going way. We must not show mercy and must not gloss over things. We must closely integrate the great criticism with the investigation, and use the criticism to promote the investigation so as to deepen the investigation work."

"In order to do a good job of fighting the third round of the battle of exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four,' party committees at all levels must further mobilize the masses and strengthen leadership over the movement."

"Let us mobilize, plunge into the battle, do a good job of fighting the third round of the battle, eradicate the 'gang of four's' pernicious influence and win still greater victories in the great struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four.'"

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'ANHWEI DAILY' COMMENTATOR'S ARTICLE ON CRITICISM OF "GANG OF FOUR"

Hofei Anhwei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Nov 77 HK

[ANHWEI DAILY commentator's article: "Fight Well the Third Battle of Exposing and Criticizing the 'Gang of Four',--date not given]

[Summary] In the great struggle to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four," Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee have issued a new battle call. The third vigorous battle of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" is being waged throughout the province. "This is the continuation and deepgoing development of the previous two battles and a key battle of this great political revolution. With high fighting spirit, party committees at all levels must lead the cadres and masses to actively plunge into this struggle. We must fight hard and win new victory in exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four.'"

"To fight the third battle of exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four' well, we must grasp the vulnerable point of the counterrevolutionary political program, dished up by the 'gang of four,' of equating veteran cadres with democrats and democrats with capitalist-roaders. We must penetratingly expose and thoroughly criticize it in politics, ideology, organization and line. We must fully expose and criticize the serious crimes perpetrated by the 'gang of four' in frantically pushing through this counterrevolutionary political program in various spheres. We must fully expose and criticize various reactionary fallacies dished up and preached by the 'gang of four' for the purposes of pushing through this counterrevolutionary political program. On this basis, we must penetratingly expose and vehemently criticize the true ultra-rightist nature of the 'gang of four's' counterrevolutionary revisionist line and their manifestations in all aspects. We must also criticize the 'gang of four' in the theory of philosophy, political economics and scientific socialism. We must put in order the right and wrong reversed by the 'gang of four' in line, ideology and theory. We must thoroughly eliminate their remnant poison and influence and implement still better the line of the 11th Party Congress."

"To fight the third battle of exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four' well, we must link it closely with the reality of Anhwei. The former principal leader of the provincial CCP committee who closely followed the 'gang

for four' did his utmost to completely push through the 'gang of four's' counterrevolutionary political program and their ultra-rightist line. He caused great harm to all fronts throughout the province in politics, organization, ideology and style of work. In the 8 months or so between the smashing of the 'gang of four' and the party Central Committee sending down its instruction on solution of the leadership problem of the Anhwei Provincial CCP committee antagonized the struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' and did his utmost to cover himself. He seriously interferred with and sabotaged the first and second battles of exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four' in our province. Fighting the third battle of exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four' well is therefore especially important in our province. Our struggle tasks are especially arduous. We must not underestimate this problem."

The key to fighting this battle well lies in leadership. Leading comrades of party committees at all levels must further heighten their awareness of the line struggle and clearly understand the serious harm caused by the "gang of four" and by the former principal leader of the provincial CCP committee. Party committees at all levels must take a firm and clear-cut stand, further give free rein to the masses, and fight a people's war in a big way. Meanwhile, they must thoroughly track down people involved in and events connected with the "gang of four's" conspiratorial activities of usurping party and state power.

In the course of the third battle, we must continue to assiduously study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's relevant Party Congress and the instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee. We must completely and correctly understand and apply the system of Mao Tse-tung thought and implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

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COMMENTARY ON EXPOSURE, CRITICISM OF "GANG OF FOUR"

Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 4 Nov 77 OW

[Excerpts of 4 November LIBERATION DAILY commentator's article: "What Should Be Exposed and Criticized First?"]

[Text] In the third battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must penetratingly expose and criticize the ultrarightist essence of the "gang's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line and the various manifestations of this line in all fields. We must also criticize this line in the fields of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. Our tasks are arduous and complex. What should we grasp first? The practice of many units is to concentrate their efforts in exposing and criticizing the counterrevolutionary political program of the "gang of four." This practice is correct, and it is compatible with the guidelines given by the central authorities.

The counterrevolutionary political program of the "gang of four" represented by the "gang's" slogan: "Veteran cadres are democrats and democrats are capitalist roaders" is a counterrevolutionary sinister banner under which the "gang" engaged in various criminal activities to usurp party and state leadership. It deeply reflected the ultrarightist essence of the "gang's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line, and also represented the basic interests of the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements, as well as the newborn bourgeoisie at home, and of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries abroad. It spoke for all the reactionary classes whom our party had overthrown in the democratic revolution and socialist revolution, and who were always looking for an opportunity to gain revenge and stage a comeback. It served the "gang's" counterrevolutionary political objective of overthrowing a large number of leading party, government and army cadres, destroying our party and army, subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

If we concentrate our efforts on exposing and criticizing the counterrevolutionary political program of the "gang of four," we will be able to grasp the essence of the "gang's" conspiratorial activities against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and to see through the ultrarightist essence of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line peddled by the "gang of four." Thus, we will be able to thoroughly expose the "gang's" counterrevolutionary schemes and the serious damage they have done to the revolution in our country.

The counterrevolutionary political program of the "gang of four" had fundamentally tampered with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, totally reversed the relations between the enemy and ourselves, and changed the class line of the party in the entire historical period of socialism as formulated by Chairman Mao. Over a long period of time, the "gang of four" also put the news media under their control and created tremendous ideological and theoretical confusion. If we concentrate our efforts in exposing and criticizing the "gang's" counterrevolutionary political program, we will be able to safeguard the purity of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, distinguish right and wrong in the realm of ideology, and correctly and fully understand Mao Tse-tung thought.

To penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang's" counterrevolutionary political program, we must study well Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the political report delivered by Chairman Hua at the 11th National CCP Congress, the report delivered by Vice Chairman Yeh on the revision of the party constitution, and Vice Chairman Teng's closing speech. By using them as our ideological weapons, we will be able to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang's" counterrevolutionary political program, and to understand how reactionary and absurd the "gang's" counterrevolutionary political program is.

To penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang's" counterrevolutionary political program, we must also maintain close touch with reality. If we do not penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang's" political program in close connection with the actual conditions in all circles, departments and units, and on all the fronts, we will not be able to eliminate its pernicious influence.

To penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang's" counterrevolutionary political program, we must do a good job in carrying out investigations. In fighting the third battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," the party committees at all levels must continue to strengthen their investigative work. We must thoroughly destroy the bourgeois factionalist set-up formed by the "gang of four" and their followers, and go into every person and matter implicated in the "gang's" conspiratorial activities in usurping party and state leadership. We must not become soft-hearted and give up halfway.

CSO: 4005

NEWSPAPER DENOUNCES USE OF FILMS BY "GANG OF FOUR"

Peking KUANG-MING JIH-PAO in Chinese 4 Nov 77 p 2 HK

[Article by the Mass Criticism Group of the Cinematography Bureau of the Ministry of Culture: "Revealing the Inside Story of Conspiratorial Films Concocted by the 'Gang of Four'"]

[Summary] "Lenin pointed out that films were the most important of all art forms. Every class must invariably use films to make propaganda about its own political views." "In 1969, before the production of feature films had resumed, Chang Chun-chiao bellowed: 'We must concentrate on films.' In 1974, Chiang Ching burst out in hysterics: 'After all these years, I cannot stand it any longer.' Hence they assigned that arrogant and filthy henchman who knew nothing about films to tightly control the film industry of our country. Exploiting this important mass media, they frenziedly pushed their counterrevolutionary political program which equated veteran cadres with 'democrats' and 'democrats' with 'capitalist roaders,' thus turning proletarian films into conspiratorial films serving their usurpation of party and state power."

Between 1973 and 1976, the "gang of four" concocted large numbers of poisonous films, including "counterattack," "The Grand Festival" and "Spring Shoots." These films recreated the images of "capitalist roaders" in different periods (before, in the early days of and after the cultural revolution). "A feature common to these 'capitalist roaders' was that they were all veteran cadres with a revolutionary past." The "gang of four" equated these veteran cadres with "capitalist roaders" and made them the targets of the socialist revolution. After these films were dished up, they set in motion all organs of propaganda under their control to sing their praises.

"In February 1975, when the 'gang of four' were launching rabid attacks on the party amid counterrevolutionary outcries for 'replacing the old talisman of the new year with a new one,' they successively issued three sinister instructions on 'writing about the struggle with the capitalist roaders' in a short span of half a month." On 1 February, Chiang Ching told Yu Hui-yung and other henchmen in the Ministry of Culture: "Hurry up and arrange several Peking Opera troupes to adapt the films 'Spring Shoot,' 'The second Spring' and 'battle in the shipyard' as Peking operas, I have talked this over with Chun-chiao. These plays are all about the struggle with the capitalist

roaders and can work in close coordination with the current struggle." On 6 February, Chang Chun-chiao summoned Yu Hui-yung and said: "We must make arrangements for the literature and art circles to write plays with both scope and profundity about the struggle with the capitalist roaders. This is necessary for the current struggle." On 16 February, Chiang Ching again hurriedly came out into the open to comment on an article which sang the praises of 'The prelude' and called for adapting some of its works into films and plays. These sinister instructions were mobilization orders for making conspiratorial films. Dancing to the baton of their masters, Yu Hui-yung and other henchmen of the 'gang of four' in the Ministry of Culture successively convened meetings to make arrangements for "writing about the struggle with the capitalist roaders." Followers of the 'gang' in other departments and localities also made the greatest effort to grasp film making. "In this way, conspiratorial films became an integral part of an organized, planned and programmatic attack against our party."

Coerced by the "gang of four," the film studios all added "the struggle with the capitalist roaders" to their scenarios, with themes set in the period of the socialist revolution. "Statistics show that of the 36 feature films planned for 1976, 32 (89 percent) were about 'the struggle with the capitalist roaders.' Of the scenarios being written and intended for shooting in 1977, a greater percentage is about 'capitalist roaders.'"

"In order to achieve their counterrevolutionary aim of usurping party and state power, the 'gang of four' incited people to ferret out 'democrats' and 'capitalist roaders' at all levels. They wanted to throw the whole country into chaos, so as to fish in troubled waters and seize power. But their spearhead was still directed against 'a layer of persons,' i. e., revolutionary leading cadres holding important posts in the party, government and army, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao in particular. This criminal intention was most sharply manifested in the conspiratorial films which they dished up. When Chang Chun-chiao issued his counterrevolutionary mobilization order for concocting 'works with themes on the struggle with the capitalist roaders,' he also raised the issue of 'profundity.' In carrying out Chang's sinister instructions, Yu Hui-yung categorically stated: 'The higher the ranks of the capitalist roaders we write about, the better.' 'We can write about not only a province or a ministry but also about the vice premiers.'"

The "gang of four" resorted to all kinds of dirty and underhand tricks in concocting conspiratorial films. One of the tricks was insinuation. For example, in naming a counterrevolutionary organization the "four modernizations," as announced at the Fourth NPC, they directed their spearhead at Chairman Mao and Premier Chou. Their second trick was to accuse others by name. When they instructed their henchmen in the Ministry of Culture to make a film "On the Subject of Railroads," they explicitly called for portraying the minister of railroads. In some of their films they even invented stories and accused Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping by name. Their third trick was to use the blacklist information they collected as "subject matter" for writing scenarios.

"In addition, in the conspiratorial films they concocted the 'gang of four' and their henchmen also did their best to glorify themselves and to prepare public opinion for their installation as 'empress,' 'chairman of the NPC standing committee' and 'premier.' This was the case with big poisonous antiparty weeds such as the film 'counterattack.'"

"Like the 'gang of four' on China's historical stage, conspiratorial films also overran the film industry for some time. But following the complete collapse of the counterrevolutionary clique of the 'gang of four,' they too died a 'natural death.' However, people will never forget this historical lesson because it is rare teaching material by negative example for the revolutionary people. What deserves our attention is that the revisionist germs spread by the 'gang of four' when they concocted the conspiratorial films have still not been eliminated, and we cannot underestimate their pernicious influence on film making. The masses of film workers must actively respond to Chairman Hua's call, make further efforts to thoroughly criticize the 'gang of four's' counterrevolutionary revisionist line in literature and art, and rectify, one by one, all those things the gang turned upside down, with regard to questions of right and wrong in line, in ideology and in theory, so that our socialist film industry can develop soundly and victoriously along the road indicated by Chairman Mao."

CSO: 4005

## CADRE POLICY OF "GANG OF FOUR" SCORED

Peking KUANG-MING JIH-PAO in Chinese 6 Nov 77 pp 1, 3 HK

[Article by the Mass Criticism Group of the Organization Department of the Fukien Provincial CCP Committee: "Thoroughly Criticize the 'Gang of Four's' Cadre Line of Appointing People According to the Needs of the 'Gang'"]

[Summary] "Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: 'Throughout our national history there have been two sharply contrasting lines on the subject of the use of cadres, one being to 'appoint people on their merit,' and the other to 'appoint people by favoritism.' The former is the honest and the latter the dishonest way.' In order to rig up a counterrevolutionary bourgeois factional network, and to usurp supreme party and state power, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao 'gang of four' did their utmost to push a counterrevolutionary revisionist line on cadres, i. e., appointing people by favoritism and according to the needs of the 'gang.' Those who obeyed them prospered, and those who defied them perished." When we repudiate the towering crimes of the "gang of four," we must thoroughly criticize the ultrarightist nature of their line on cadres.

The "gang of four" racked their brains to work out a set of criteria for selecting cadres. In addition to Chang Chun-chiao's three notorious criteria, i.e., that one must be "familiar with the leaders, supported by the masses and capable in work," they also took over revolutionary slogans and inserted counterrevolutionary contraband into them. Let's see how they used revolutionary slogans to serve their ulterior purpose.

First, they bellowed about "selecting those who have a high political awareness of the line." What they had in mind here were those "who followed them in 'overthrowing everything' and provoking 'all-round civil war' during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; those who followed them in 'firing three arrows simultaneously in criticizing Lin Piao, Confucius and the Duke of Chou' during the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius; and those who followed them in frantically attacking and making false charges against Vice Premier Teng in 1976." The "Gang of Four's" pawn in our province even openly shouted: "We'd rather have Kuomintang members who have a high political awareness of the line than communists with a low political awareness of the line."

Second, they peddled "the present criterion for cadres is that they must be rebels." The "gang of four" were typical representatives of the bourgeoisie and of the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang inside our party. "To them, 'to rebel' was to engage in counterrevolutionary activities and practice capitalist restoration. In order to gather 'rebels' of this kind, they, like Lin Piao, resorted to 'enticement with offices, emoluments and favors; and preached the fallacy that 'rebellion is justified and those who rise in rebellion are eligible for party membership and should get an official post.'" The pawn of the "gang of four" in our province brazenly vaunted: "We are wasting our efforts if we can't get an official post after rising in rebellion." These kinds of "rebels" were out-and-out counterrevolutionaries.

Third, they talked about "having the courage to go against the tide." The "gang of four" "deliberately obliterated the class content of going against the tide, and actually regarded 'directing the spearhead upwards against the leadership' as the criteria of 'going against the tide.' They wanted people to oppose the tide of revolution and to oppose party leadership." Vice Chairman Yeh said in his report on the revision of the party constitution: "By going against the tide, Chairman Mao meant going against the adverse tide of revisionism, splittism and conspiracy." However, what the 'gang of four' meant by going against the tide was to whip up one counterrevolutionary adverse current after another. This was most sharply manifested in their practice of counterposing "going against the tide" to the observance of party discipline. Their pawn in our province maliciously attacked party discipline as "restrictions and fetters" and slandered the party members and cadres who observed discipline as "little lambs" and "weak-kneed fellows." The reason why they were so against party discipline was that they wanted to oppose the party's revolutionary line.

Fourth, they preached that "everything must be based on need." Wang Hung-wen said: "In times of need, even appalling political records don't matter any more. Everything must be based on need." These words explained why there were so many monsters and freaks in the bourgeois factional network of the 'gang of four.' The line on cadres is determined by the political line. The "gang of four" frenziedly pushed their counterrevolutionary line on cadres precisely for the purpose of satisfying the "needs" of their counterrevolutionary revisionist political line.

"We must relentlessly criticize the 'gang of four's' counterrevolutionary revisionist cadre line of 'appointing people according to the needs of the 'gang,' foster and select cadres according to Chairman Mao's five requirements for successors, and make sure that leadership at all levels is firmly in the hands of those who hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, who are loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and who resolutely obey the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. We must carry on the great struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' and carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao."

'HUEH DAILY' URGES CRITICIZING "GANG OF FOUR"

Whuhan Hupeh Provincial Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 8 Nov 77 HK

[HUEH DAILY 8 November Editorial: "Do a Good Job of Integration and Criticize and Work Hard in a Big Way"]

[Summary] In his political report at the 11th National CCP Congress, wise leader Chairman Hua pointed out: "We must integrate still more closely the struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' with the mass movements to learn from Taching and Tachai and unfold them in a still more penetrating fashion."

At present, the third battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has begun. The party committees at all levels must follow Chairman Hua's instructions, draw up plans concerning the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and the movements to learn from Taching and Tachai, design fine arrangements and organically integrate them.

"It should be pointed out here that among the leadership at all levels, some comrades have had a correct understanding of the exposure and criticism of the 'gang of four,' learning from Taching and Tachai and the internal relationship between them, and they have done a good job in integrating them in their practical work. Yet there are some comrades who have verbally shouted about integrating, but no integration has come about in their actual work. They have even put the two things in opposition and are confused by the complicated matters. Very often, they end up not being able to attend to everything at once, and not being able to do a good job in firmly grasping either of them. It is necessary for these comrades to solve for themselves, in understanding and practice, the questions of why there should be integration, whether it is possible to have integration and how to carry out integration.

The struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and the movements to learn from Taching and Tachai can and must be integrated. This is because the principal contradictions they want to solve are identical."

At present, the principal contradiction we face is the contradiction between our party and the "gang of four." "At present, therefore, in learning from Taching and Tachai, we must grasp the center of exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four' and deepend the struggles between two classes, roads and lines on the industry and agriculturefronts. Otherwise, we shall lose the key link in learning from Taching and Tachai."

In order to do a good job in integrating the two, the most fundamental thing is to enhance the spontaneity to grasp the key link. "At present, we must grasp the counterrevolutionary political program dished up by the 'gang of four,' penetratingly expose and criticize the ultrarightist nature of their counterrevolutionary revisionist line and its expressions in various aspects, and do a good job in fighting the third battle. In order to do a good job in integrating the two, the key link lies in solving the question of connecting with reality. We must closely connect exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four' with solving the question of the class struggle in the localities and the local units and the question of orientation and road of developing industry and agriculture."

All localities and units must obtain a clear picture of what remnant poison and influence the "gang of four" has in their places. They must divide the questions into (?various sections), list special topics, and mobilize the masses to expose and criticize the questions one by one, distinguish between right and wrong in line on the questions, one by one, and eliminate the remnant poison in various aspects one by one.

"The production struggle and the class struggle cannot be separated. We must grasp the three great revolutionary movements simultaneously and integrate the struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' with the movements to learn from Taching and Tachai. In this way, we shall be able to mobilize in a still better way the socialist activism of the masses, and guide and organize them in a timely fashion to develop socialism in a big way.

"We will certainly boost our enthusiasm, go all out, roll up our sleeves and work hard in a big way. We will certainly struggle to fulfill and overfulfill this year's tasks and build one-third of the enterprises in Hupeh into Taching-type enterprises, and over one-third of the counties in Hupeh into Tachai-type counties by 1980.

CSO: 4005

'HUNAN DAILY' EDITORIAL ON CRITICISM OF "GANG OF FOUR"

Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 8 Nov 77 HK

[Excerpts of HUNAN DAILY Editorial: "Resolutely Fight Well the Third Battle of Exposing and Criticizing the 'Gang of Four', " date not given]

[Summary] Fighting well the third battle of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" is the battle call which the party Central Committee headed by wise leader, Chairman Hua has issued to the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, and is the major important political task facing party organizations at all levels, the armymen and people throughout the province. Since the "gang of four" was smashed, under the leadership of the provincial CCP committee, in compliance with the unified arrangements, and in close connection with the reality of Hunan, the armymen and people have fought the first battle of exposing and criticizing the conspiracy of the "gang of four" to usurp party and state power, and fought the second battle of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary activities and criminal history. They have scored brilliant achievements.

"Facing victory, we must by no means relax our fighting spirit. We must clearly see the seriousness of the 'gang of four's' interference and sabotage, and the acuteness and complexity of the struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four.' We must thoroughly track down the people involved in, and events connected with, the 'gang of four's' conspiratorial activities of usurping party and state power. We must thoroughly destroy the bourgeois factional network of the 'gang of four' and their remnants. We still have a great deal of work to perform. Penetratingly exposing and thoroughly criticizing the 'gang of four' in line and theory, and thoroughly eliminating their remnant poison and influence are still arduous and protracted tasks. In compliance with Chairman Hua's instruction, we must, at present and for some time in the future, firmly grasp the key link of exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four,' seriously sum up the experiences in fighting the first two battles, further strengthen party leadership, give free rein to the masses, carefully organize and resolutely fight well the third battle of exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four'."

"The main tasks and orientation of the third battle are to penetratingly expose and vehemently criticize the true ultrarightist nature of the 'gang of four's' counterrevolutionary revisionist line and their manifestations in all aspects. We must also conduct criticism in philosophy, political economics and scientific socialism." For a long time, the "gang of four" waved the Marxist banner, wore the cloak of revolution and pushed through the ultrarightist counterrevolutionary revisionist line. They had tampered extensively with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They dished up the counterrevolutionary political program of equating veteran cadres with democrats and democrats with capitalist-roaders. They attempted in vain to topple a large number of revolutionary cadres of the party, army and government, destroy our party and our army, overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

"The third battle of exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four' is the continuation and deepgoing development of the first two battles, and the crucial battle in winning complete victory in the great political revolution of exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four.' Only by fighting this battle well can we eliminate the remnant poison and influence of the 'gang of four's' counterrevolutionary revisionist line in all aspects, guarantee the complete and correct implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, effectively heighten the cadres' and masses' awareness of the class struggle line struggle, and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and impel our socialist cause to move ahead with greater, faster, better and more economical results."

The black hand which the "gang of four" stretched into Hunan and a small number of people whom the bourgeois careerists and conspirators recruited were a gang of most vicious vermin. We must be determined to destroy evil, leaving no chance for its revival. Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the important documents of the 11th Party Congress are our powerful ideological weapons for fighting the 3rd battle well. We must closely link study and criticism, completely and accurately grasp the system of Mao Tse-tung thought, profoundly understand the basic spirit of the political report made by Chairman Hua at the 11th Party Congress, penetratingly criticize the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary political program and thoroughly smash the theoretical foundation of their counterrevolutionary revisionist line.

In the third battle, we must strictly distinguish between and correctly handle two different kinds of contradictions. We must help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack. We must save all people who have made mistakes, including serious mistakes, and who are willing to correct themselves. We must isolate and strike blows at the "gang of four" and their faithful followers whose crimes were serious and who are not willing to correct themselves and to repent.

CSO: 4005

'NANFANG DAILY' ON MOBILIZING SOCIALIST ENTHUSIASM

Canton Kwangtung Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Nov 77 HK

[NANFANG DAILY Editorial: "Fully Mobilize the Socialist Enthusiasm of the Masses of Cadres and People", date not given]

[Summary] Under the guidance of the line of the 11th National Party Congress, all areas in this province are energetically fighting the emancipation battle of agriculture. This year's late rice is growing well, and we are hopeful of a bumper late rice harvest. In this excellent situation, the people want to know the decisive factor in doing a good job of fighting the emancipation battle of agriculture.

"Our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao said: 'The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.' To do a good job of fighting the emancipation battle of agriculture, we must organize tens of millions of grassroots cadres and the masses of peasants throughout this province, and under the guidance of the line of the 11th Party Congress, and in accordance with the demand on building the great socialist agriculture, fight a people's war against the natural world. We should mobilize and rely on tens of millions of grassroots cadres and the masses of peasants in this province and mobilize their great latent socialist enthusiasm, thus enabling them to use the high initiative spirit for going in for socialism in a big way. For party committees at all levels, grasping the issue of mobilizing the enthusiasm of the cadres and people means grasping the decisive factor in doing a good job of fighting the emancipation battle of agriculture."

The "gang of four's" serious interference and sabotage suppressed and hurt the socialist enthusiasm of cadres and people. Thus we should firmly grasp the key link of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and successfully solve the problems concerning line, policy and style of work.

In order to eradicate the "gang of four's" pernicious influence, the rural area's communes and production brigades should launch the "three publicities" like Taching has done.

"In order to fully mobilize the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and people, it is imperative to use the exposure and criticism of the 'gang of four' as

motive force, and launch an all-round attack against urban and rural capitalist forces. In his political report to the 11th Party Congress, our wise leader Chairman Hua pointed out: 'To safeguard socialist public ownership and smash the attacks of urban and rural capitalist forces involves intense struggle.' The 'gang of four' are the chief representatives of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements, and are also the chief representatives of urban and rural capitalist forces. With the support and connivance of the 'gang of four,' capitalist forces in town and country mounted fierce attacks thus causing serious harm. Therefore we must closely integrate the great struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' with hitting hard at capitalist forces. We must relentlessly hit hard at sabotage activities of class enemies, hit hard at embezzlers, grafters and speculators, criticize capitalist forces and smash the 'gang of four's' social basis. All areas must strengthen the concrete leadership over the struggle to hit hard at capitalist forces in town and country, and must grasp the struggle firmly."

The conducting of education in the party's basic line is just aimed at penetratingly criticizing capitalism and going in for socialism in a big way. However, the "gang of four" fanatically opposed education in the party's basic line and described the criticism of capitalism as suppressing the masses.

All areas in the province are facing a problem of missing the point in criticizing capitalism in varying degrees, which is due to the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four." It is imperative to conscientiously solve this problem. How can we criticize capitalism thoroughly and relentlessly? To do so, we must connect the criticism with the realities of the rural area, and clearly understand two things, namely, the nature of capitalism and the way to criticize capitalism. We must not criticize those activities which safeguard socialist public ownership and the state plan, and must not criticize those activities which are in conformity with the party policy. We must criticize those activities which weaken and disrupt socialist public ownership and the state plan, and must criticize those activities which violate the party policy.

"How to criticize? It is imperative to strictly distinguish contradiction among the people from contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and handle both correctly. The spearhead of struggle must be directed against a handful of class enemies who engage in sabotage activities. It is imperative to direct the spearhead against embezzlers, grafters and speculators."

"We must use the democratic, persuasive and educative measures to solve the problem of capitalist tendencies among the people."

We must conscientiously solve the various problems of policy in the rural areas in accordance with the 60 articles of the people's commune.

"Due to the interference and sabotage of the 'gang of four,' quite a few areas are facing quite a few problems in handling the relationship among

the state, the collective and the individual. For instance, some areas do not take concrete measures to insure the fulfillment of the policy of purchasing agricultural and side-line products. Quite a few production teams' burdens are too heavy. Also, they do not appropriately handle the relationship between accumulation and consumption."

The "gang of four" denied the collective sideline production in the rural area and denied the appropriate domestic side-occupations of commune members. They babbled that these place money in command.

"The 'gang of four' disrupted the normal circulation of commodities. On the basis of conscientiously making investigations and studies, we must solve all these problems of policy as quickly as possible and one by one."

To fully mobilize the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and people, we must revive and promote our party's fine tradition and fine style of work in the great struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four.' We must emphatically revive and carry forward the style of seeking truth from facts, and the style of mass line. We must resolutely oppose subjectivism and the style of divorcing ourselves from the masses. It is imperative to revive the party's democratic centralism and oppose the practice of "what I say counts." It is imperative to revive the style of modesty, prudence, plain living and hard work and oppose arrogance, impetuosity and love of personal comfort. We can surely mobilize tens of millions of peasants and win great victories in the emancipation battle of agriculture, so long as leading comrades at all levels and the masses of cadres have a good style of work, go deep among the masses, take the lead in energetically criticizing capitalism, and take the lead in going in for socialism in a big way.

CSO: 4005

'KWANGSI DAILY' ON IDEOLOGICAL MOBILIZATION WORK

Nanning Kwangsi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 31 Oct 77 HK

[KWANGSI DAILY short commentary: "Conduct Careful Ideological Mobilization Work," date not given]

[Text] Chairman Mao taught us: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them." Deeply exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," and thoroughly eradicating their pernicious influence on all fronts are now the pivot of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads, and will be so for some time to come. They are protracted and arduous tasks. It is imperative to extensively mobilize the masses and energetically wage a people's war to deeply expose and criticize the "gang of four." Only by doing so, can we win victories. The "gang's" pernicious influence is very great. Every unit and every person is affected by the influence in varying degrees, thus their attitudes towards and concepts of criticizing the "gang of four" and unfolding the three publications are different. Therefore, in conducting ideological mobilization work and in light of the various concepts, we must adopt the method of opening different locks with different keys. Only by doing so, can we work well on every person and can we mobilize 95 percent of the cadres and masses to participate in the three publicities. Only by doing so, can we realize the goal of eradicating the pernicious influence and of correcting the right and wrong in line which was turned upside down by the "gang of four."

CSO: 4005

'SZECHWAN DAILY' URGES ADVANCING CRITICISM MOVEMENT

Chengtu Szechwan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2140 GMT 31 Oct 77 HK

[SZECHWAN DAILY Editorial: "Advance Victoriously and Fight Well the Third Campaign in Exposing and Criticizing the 'Gang of Four,'" date not given]

[Summary] Szechwan has victoriously conducted two campaigns in exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and gained initial success in grasping the key link in running Szechwan well. Under the guidance of the line of the 11th Party Congress, we must grasp well investigation work, the implementation of policies, and in particular mass criticism, and whip up a new upsurge of exposing and criticizing the line of the "gang of four". We must make a thorough success of fighting the third campaign.

We must expose and criticize the ultra-rightist essence of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line and its expressions in all aspects. "The idea of 'the movement is almost completed' and tendencies to relax are wrong and harmful." We must criticize their fallacies and crimes in tampering with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, tampering with the party's basic line, dishing up a counterrevolutionary political program, inciting people to drag out "capitalist roaders," and attempting in vain to overthrow a large number of leading cadres of the party, government and army, and so on. Exposure and criticism must be closely linked with reality in our own areas, departments and units.

"We must combine criticism with rectifying the party's style of work, straightening out the enterprises and the communes and brigades, and achieving the revolutionization of the organs. We must destroy the sinister winds of capitalism, anarchism, bourgeois factionalism and sectarianism stirred up by the "gang of four," and establish our party's fine traditions and style of work, so that the activism and creativity of the cadres and masses can be brought into full play and a lively and vivid political situation can rapidly form."

We must, at present, seriously study Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the documents of the 11th Party Congress, so as to guide our criticism. Leaders at all

levels must take the lead in study and also train backbone elements, and rectify and build the force of theorists.

We must do a thoroughly good job of investigation work. Unless this is done thoroughly, we cannot fully expose the crimes of the "gang of four" and their followers or completely destroy the bourgeois factional network.

CSO: 4005

LIANG HSIAO SCORED BY HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Peking LI-SHIH YEN-CHIU (Historical Research) in Chinese No 4 20 Aug 77  
pp 3-11 HK

[Article by Chen Shih-Chih: "Commenting on Liang Hsiao, Spokesman of the 'Gang of Four'"]

[Summary] Using many pseudonyms and calling himself an absolutely "correct" "Marxist" theoretician, Liang Hsiao dominated the mass media from the winter of 1973 to the "gang of four's" downfall in October 1976. During this period he wrote over 200 articles. Out of the 181 published items, no fewer than 36 were picked by Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan.

With the "gang of four's" number one spokesman playing a prominent role in academic, political and economic spheres, during those 3 years Liang Hsiao's fallacies and absurdities spread far and wide to undermine the revolutionary cause and to usurp party and state power. With Chairman Mao, Premier Chou and later Chairman Hua and Vice Chairman Teng as implicit targets, Liang Hsiao, a leading member of the "mass criticism group of Peking and Tsinghua Universities," vigorously carried out sinister activities under Chiang Ching's explicit instructions.

Under the pretext of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, Liang Hsiao moved into Lin Piao's former residence to compile dossiers and to withhold materials unfavorable to Lin and those implicitly connecting Chiang Ching with him. In the article "Confucius the Man," which was cleared by Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan, Premier Chou was singled out for the "gang of four's" venomous attacks. The article on Confucius contained unmistakable allusions to Premier Chou, such as phrases "bedridden at the age of 71," "a hypocritical and crafty political swindler" and "expounding his views but publishing no writings at all."

Liang Hsiao published another article attacking Premier Chou in general, and PLA regional commanders in particular, entitled: "Read 'the Debate on Salt and Iron'--A Big Controversy Between Confucian and Legalist Schools During the Western Han Period." Taking the cue from Yao Wen-yuan, Liang Hsiao likened the reshuffling of army commanders in early 1974, a move decided

upon by Chairman Mao himself, to feudal secession in Chinese history. The article thus threatened the unified central leadership of the state. Another antiarmy article written in the same vein was published in RED FLAG No 3 of 1974 and entitled "What Was the Decisive Factor For Chin To Unify the Six States?"

Harboring ulterior motives and pleading ignorance of historical facts, Liang Hsiao equated the wars between the Han central government and tribal chieftains with those between "China" and "foreign countries" and between "aggression and counter-aggression." He did this to find an excuse for Soviet inroads into China and to brand others as "traitors," so that he could present the "gang of four" and their followers as "patriots."

In June 1974, Chiang Ching specifically instructed Liang Hsiao to ferret out a "big contemporary Confucian" and to embellish Empress Lu and Wu Tzu-tien in a vain attempt to topple Premier Chou and have him replaced.

Liang Hsiao contributed two articles to RED FLAG No 10 of 1974, one attacking, "Following the Routine" and another criticizing, "Small States Should Follow the Examples of Big States." In the first article, he equated the "legalists" with "Marxist revolutionaries." In terms of internal and external policies, these two articles were clearly directed at Premier Chou and other leading central comrades.

The "gang of four's" plot to "form a cabinet" was foiled by Chairman Mao in a timely way. This occurred in November 1974, prior to the convocation of the Fourth NPC, thus upsetting the "gang's" plan to topple Premier Chou.

In RED FLAG No 3 of 1975, the same article "Following the Routine" took a new title: "Criticize Following the Routine and Persist in Continuing the Revolution." In that article the "gang of four," their plot to "form a cabinet" having been thwarted, maliciously attacked Premier Chou on issues regarding "extending bourgeois rights" and "undermining stability and unity." The concluding part of the article revealed the "gang of four's" reluctance to reconcile themselves to their defeat.

In short, what Liang Hsiao did during those 3 years as the "gang of four's" mouthpiece serves as concrete evidence of his total betrayal of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought and of the party's basic line in the historical stage of socialism.

CSO: 4005

## ONE OF CHANG'S TRICKS CRITICIZED

Peking JEN-MIN JIH-PAO in Chinese 5 Nov 77 p 2 HK

[Article by Wang Yung-an of the logistics department of the Kunming PLA units: "Denouncing 'Be 30 Percent to the 'Left' in Everything'"]

[Text] Chang Chun-chiao once told his confederates about the counterrevolutionary trick, "Be 30 percent to the 'left' in everything." The cunning of this counterrevolutionary double-dealer was revealed in this one phrase. This was what Chang Chun-chiao actually did.

Chang Chun-chiao said: "As long as class struggle is grasped, it doesn't matter if the land yields no crops." "We prefer uncultured laborers to spiritual aristocrats with culture." He also screamed: "Run factories without rules and regulations," etc., how strangely "left"!

Lenin pointed out that when truth goes a step further it becomes fallacy. Aside from covering up his ultrarightist features, Chang Chun-chiao's trick was also an important way for him to revise Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-tung thought. This is a significant aspect of the rampant metaphysics under the "gang of four."

CSO: 4005

'YUNNAN DAILY' ON CONDUCTING "THREE GREAT PUBLICITIES"

Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 2 Nov 77 HK

[Text of YUNNAN DAILY commentator's article: "The 'Three Great Publicities' Is a Good Way To Wash Away the Remnant Poison of the 'Gang of Four,'" date not given]

[Summary] "A number of districts and units in our province have learned from the experiences of (Peiho) oil field and the Ministry of Petrochemical Industry and have extensively conducted the mass activities of 'three great publicities.' They have further deepened the struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four.' Practice has proven that the 'three great publicities' is a good way to give free rein to the masses, closely connect with the reality, penetratingly expose and criticize the 'gang of four' and wash away the 'gang of four's' remnant poison."

"In the activities of the 'three great publicities,' cadres and masses can connect with the reality of their own units. They can greatly publicize the fact that the party, the country, the units and the people suffered during the time the 'gang of four' were running rampant. They can also publicize their experiences in waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the 'gang of four.' With a well-defined objective in mind, it is essential to actively and specifically mobilize the masses to draw a clear line between Marxism and revisionism, and to correct the right and wrong reversed by the 'gang of four.' It is necessary to eliminate the 'gang of four's' remnant poison and influence in line, ideology and theory."

"Various districts and units must conduct the mass activities of the 'three great activities' and vigorously wage a people's war of washing away the 'gang of four's' remnant poison. The practices of the earlier period indicate that to conduct the mass activities of the 'three great publicities' and to score the necessary achievements, we must deeply and carefully do a lot of ideological and organizational work. It is imperative to have a correct understanding. There are still some districts and units which have not conducted the activities of the 'three great publicities,' or have conducted the activities but with no great achievements. An important factor is that some people in those districts and units are worried that this means having everyone pass the test, directing the spearhead downward, and punishing the masses. We

must correctly understand this issue. Our party's consistent tradition and style is that both cadres and masses must continuously undertake self-education and raise their level of Marxism and awareness of class struggle and of the struggle between the two lines. Through undertaking criticism and self-criticism, they must help one another and march forward together. Slandering self-education as having everyone pass the test, and stupidly describing cadres and masses undertaking normal criticism and self-criticism as directing the spearhead downwards and punishing the masses is a vicious attack by the 'gang of four' against our party's fine tradition and style. It also serves the 'gang of four's' conspiratorial purpose of usurping party and state power, subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. Today, the 'gang of four' has been overthrown. However, their remnant poison and influence still work in the minds of a number of cadres. The above understanding is the reflection of the remnant poison and influence."

"The key link to doing a good job in the 'three great publicities' lies in the leaders, particularly in the number one and two men. Leading cadres at all levels must be like the leaders of the Taching oilfield and the Ministry of Petro-Chemical Industry. With profound hatred against the 'gang of four.' The comrades who have unswervingly withheld and struggled against the 'gang of four's' counterrevolutionary revisionist line must take the lead in learning and publicizing. Those comrades who have not completely withheld the 'gang of four' because they were afraid of being scolded when the 'gang of four' were running rampant, and when the pressure was very great, and those who have said the wrong thing and committed mistakes must all the more take the lead in learning and publicizing. This is the party's demand and the masses' hope."

"The starting point to conduct the activities of the 'three great publicities' is penetratingly exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four' and washing away their remnant poison and influence. In these activities, it is imperative to seriously implement the party's policy and strictly differentiate and correctly handle the two different kinds of contradictions. The spearhead of the struggle must be consistently directed against the 'gang of four' and their handful of close followers. In the 'three great publicities,' we must thoroughly expose the ugly counterrevolutionary features of the 'gang of four' and their company, the ultrarightist essence of their counterrevolutionary revisionist line and their serious threat against the party, revolution and people. It is necessary to penetratingly and thoroughly criticize their various reactionary fallacies."

CSO: 4005

'KIANGSI DAILY' EDITORIAL CRITICIZING GANG

Nanching Kiangsi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Nov 77 HK

[KIANGSI DAILY Editorial: "Resolutely Fight Well the Third Battle of the Struggle To Expose and Criticize the 'Gang of Four,'" date not given]

[Summary] The third battle of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" has begun. "The main tasks of this battle include taking as guidance Chairman Hua's political report at the 11th National Congress of the party, the constitution of the CCP, Vice Chairman Yeh's report on revision of the constitution of the party, and Vice Chairman Teng's closing speech, penetratingly exposing and vehemently criticizing the true ultrarightist nature of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary revisionist line and their manifestations in all aspects, conducting criticism in the theory of philosophy, political economics and scientific socialism and eliminating the remnant poison and influence of the "gang of four" in all aspects."

In the previous stage, in accordance with the strategic plan of the party Central Committee and under the leadership of the Kiangsi Provincial CCP Committee, the cadres and masses in our province concentrated the forces to fight the first battle of exposing and criticizing the conspiracy of the "gang of four" and their confederates in Kiangsi to usurp party and state power. Subsequently, they fought the second battle of exposing and criticizing the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary political appearance and their criminal history. They scored very great achievements. "The third battle is the continuation of the first and second battles, and the crucial battle in winning complete victory in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four." Whether or not we can fight this battle well has a bearing on whether or not we can hold high Chairman Mao's great banner and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, on whether or not we can consolidate and expand the fruits of the first and second battles and consolidate and develop the great victory in the 11th line struggle, and on whether or not we can thoroughly eliminate the "gang of four's" remnant poison and influence, and closely follow wise leader Chairman Hua to win great victory in grasping the key link in running the country well."

"Penetratingly exposing and criticizing the 'gang of four' in line is the basic major event of combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing restoration of capitalism and building socialism, and is a great movement of education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought to enhance the cadres' and masses' awareness of the class struggle, line struggle, and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must fully understand the great and farreaching significance of this battle. We must be determined and exert our greatest energy to fight the third battle well. Meanwhile, we must do a good job in tracking down work and win complete victory in the struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four.'"

To fight the third battle well, it is essential to continue to mobilize the masses to expose and criticize the "gang of four," so that everyone criticizes the four pests and eliminates the remnant poison. Nos 1 and 2 men of party committees at all levels must especially grasp exposing and criticizing the "gang of four." We must see: "The struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' in our province has not progressed very evenly. The common point of the places and units which have not carried out the struggle well is that leadership has lagged behind the masses. Leading cadres of a very small number of places and units have even covered themselves up, suppressed the masses and protected the mountain strongholds and themselves." This phenomenon must be quickly changed. Leading cadres at all levels must stand in the frontline of the struggle. We must continue to carry out track-down work and basically complete the tracking down task this year or shortly thereafter.

CSO: 4005

BRIEFS

HONAN MUNICIPALITIES CRITICIZE 'GANG' --After the holding of the enlarged meeting of the standing committee of the Honan Provincial CCP Committee, the people in Chengchow, Loyang, Kaifeng, Pingtingshan, Hsinhsiang, Anyang, Chiaotsuo and Hopi municipalities held rallies to transmit and implement the spirit of the enlarged meeting. They all vowed to support the important instructions of Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee on the Honan problems, to implement the spirit of the enlarged meeting, and to continue to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and their followers in Honan. CCP committees of these municipalities also vowed to fully mobilize the people to expose and criticize the "gang of four," to strengthen leadership over the movement and to grasp revolution and promote production. [Chengchow Honan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Oct 77 HK]

KWANGSI'S EDUCATION TEAM--Kwangsi's eighth work team of education in the party's basic line went to Tungan, Laipin, Napo, Chinghsia, Tahsin, Lungchou, Ningming counties and Tunghsing Autonomous County as well as 20 factories, mines and enterprises on 26 September to propagate the documents of the 11th National Party Congress, implement the line of the congress and conduct education on the party's basic line. The work team comprised 2,100 people. On 16 September, the autonomous regional party committee held a mobilization rally of members of the work team in Nanning. Responsible comrades of the regional party committee Chiao Hsiao-kuang, Liu Chung-kuei, Tu I and Hsiao Han listened to a report by the head of the work team and issued important directives. [Nanning Kwangsi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Sep 77 HK]

CSO: 4005

ECONOMIC

BRIEFS

NEW TRACTOR DEVELOPED--Kirin has succeeded in building a 36-horsepower tractor of Tung-fang-hung brand. This success was achieved through the collaboration of many units, including Changchun tractor plant, Yushu diesel engine plant, Kirin oil pump plant, Kirin farm machine research institute and Kirin rural electric power experimental station. This tractor will play an important role in bringing about mechanized farming in Kirin. It is noted for its great power, smooth operation, lack of vibration, easy-to-start engine, high productivity and fuel conservation. It can be used for sowing, weeding, plowing, field transportation and other jobs. [Changchun Kirin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Oct 77]

INCREASE IN SAVINGS DEPOSITS--During the first 9 months of 1977, cities and towns of Liaoning Province increased their total savings deposits in banks by 14.7 percent over that of the corresponding period of 1976, achieving the highest level since the founding of the People's Republic. In the past few years, members of the 4th company of the first battalion of PLA unit No 81850 have continually increased their savings deposits in banks. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Oct 77]

HYDROELECTRIC POWER STATIONS--Kannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture has scored achievements in building small hydroelectric power stations. By the end of 1976, 119 such stations had been built with a total capacity of 13,994 kw and generating 17.89 million kwh per year. Eighty percent of its communes now have electricity. [Peking NCNA Domestic Service in Chinese 0119 GMT 23 Oct 77 OW]

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT--By the end of September, the value of the total industrial output of Ichang Municipality increased by 27 percent compared with the same period last year. The amount of profits the municipality submitted to the state went up by 127 percent over the corresponding period last year. [Wuhan Hupeh Provincial Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 24 Oct 77 HK]

ELECTRIC POWER IN WUCHOU--Wuchou Prefecture in Kwangsi has increased electric power generating capacity by more than 11,000 kw annually in the past 11 years. [Peking Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 28 Oct 77 OW]

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN WUCHOU--In Wuchou Prefecture, 13 factories and mines have fulfilled this year's production quotas or value of production. By the end of September, the whole prefecture fulfilled 74.5 percent of the annual plan of the total industrial output value, an increase of 18.5 percent compared with the same period last year. [Nanning Kwangsi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Oct 77 HK]

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN POSE--Between January and September, the value of the total industrial output in Pose Prefecture increased by 19.4 percent compared with the same period last year. [Nanning Kwangsi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Oct 77 HK]

CSO: 4006

END